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OLC 77-5706/1A
3 JAN 1978

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MEMORANDUM FOR: Howard Stoertz, Jr., National Intelligence
Officer for Strategic Programs.

FROM: George L. Cary
Legislative Counsel

SUBJECT: Unclassified Study of Soviet Civil Defense

REFERENCE: Your Memorandum to Multiple Addressees,
Same Subject, Dated 27 December 1977,
SP-249/77

25X1

1. ☐ Regarding the referent memorandum, I concur in your recommendation that the unclassified study of Soviet civil defense be released through a congressional committee of Congress. I think your memorandum to the DCI should reflect that Senator John C. Culver (D., Iowa), Chairman, Subcommittee on General Legislation, Senate Armed Services Committee, has a deep interest in Soviet civil defense and has asked on a number of occasions, beginning some time back, if we could declassify our Soviet civil defense study. Most recently, he has requested a briefing on Soviet civil defense, which has been scheduled for 5 January 1978 and he again renewed his request for an unclassified paper.

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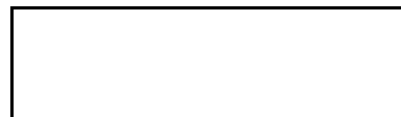
2. ☐ While Senator Culver has made these requests, we felt it appropriate to check with our oversight committees to determine whether they would have an interest in releasing such a study. Tom Latimer, Staff Director, House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, indicated that the Committee might be interested but wanted to see the report before making such a decision. Preliminary checks with the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence indicate no problems in releasing the study through Senator Culver's Subcommittee.

SIGNED

George L. Cary

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NFAC #3546-77

Approved For Release 2005/02/15 : CIA-RDP81M00980R000900040034-2

THE DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE

OLC #77-5706

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20505

National Intelligence Officers

SP - 249/77
27 December 1977

MEMORANDUM FOR: Deputy Director, National Foreign Assessment Center
Deputy Director for Operations
Director of Strategic Research
Legislative Counsel
Assistant for Public Affairs
National Intelligence Officer for USSR-Eastern Europe
Chief, Congressional Support Staff, NFAC
Chief, Special Projects Team, OSR/SEC

FROM: National Intelligence Officer for Strategic Programs

SUBJECT: Unclassified Study of Soviet Civil Defense

The attached draft memorandum from the D/DCI/NI to the DCI proposing release of an unclassified study on Soviet civil defense is forwarded for your coordination. Your comments or approval are requested by COB Thursday, 29 December 1977. Please direct your response to [redacted] ANIO/SP, extension [redacted]

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Howard Stoertz, Jr.

Attachment

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Approved For Release 2005/02/15 : CIA-RDP81M00980R000900040034-2

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SP - 249/77

SUBJECT: Unclassified Study of Soviet Civil Defense

Distribution:

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NIO/SP:

(27Dec77)

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D R A F T
27 December 1977

MEMORANDUM FOR: Director of Central Intelligence
FROM: Director, National Foreign Assessment Center
SUBJECT: Unclassified Study of Soviet Civil Defense

1. Action Requested: That you decide on whether to release the attached unclassified study of Soviet civil defense and on the method of making public the study or its contents.

2. Background:

25X1 a. [] requested a sanitized version of the Key Findings and Summary and Conclusions of the recent Interagency Intelligence Memorandum on Soviet civil defense to determine the feasibility of preparing an unclassified paper on the subject. His recommendation in favor of release is attached. (Attachment 1)

b. We have taken another look at the substance and style of the unclassified study and have included some further changes. We have modified some sentences which might convey a much different meaning than intended if quoted out of context by those trying purposely to distort the findings of the paper. We have determined that the public release of our proposed draft (Attachment 2) would not reveal sensitive sources or methods. We also propose that an unclassified bibliography be released as part of the study. The bibliography will help protect sources and methods and provide an unclassified data base for those interested.

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D R A F T

SUBJECT: Unclassified Study of Soviet Civil Defense

c. If the attached paper were released it would be the first unclassified DCI publication on a subject specifically related to Soviet capabilities for strategic nuclear conflict. Since the release would set a precedent we recommend that you consider the pros and cons of whether to release the paper and the means of release.

d. Release of the unclassified study.

Pros

--Would be an official and professional contribution to an issue on which discussion has tended to become polemical.

--Issuance of our own judgments, including necessary caveats might preclude or offset the effect of biased releases of portions of the IIM by others.

--Might reduce incentives to leak parts of the classified IIM, thus reducing the risks of compromising sources and methods.

--Would be responsive to some Congressional requests.

Cons

--Possibility of distortion of intelligence findings in spite of caveats, by what the press picks out as headline material (e.g., 2 billion dollars annually and 20 million casualties).

--Possibility of distortion because civil defense treated out of context with overall strategic balance.

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D R A F T

SUBJECT: Unclassified Study of Soviet Civil Defense

--Need to put civil defense in context or perhaps the precedent of release itself, could have snowballing effect of demand on the DCI for more and more comprehensive and sensitive assessments on, say, the overall strategic balance.

--Could inject the DCI into a public debate about an issue rather than through Administration or Congressional officials. The DCI could be seen as (1) an independent source of public release on foreign developments requiring policy reactions by the Administration, or (2) a source of public release on foreign developments supporting Administration policy.

e. Possible Soviet reactions and response to the release:

--The basic question in the Soviet mind would be why the US government published an assessment of effects of a nuclear attack at a time when the US and USSR appear to be progressing toward a SALT agreement. The Soviet leaders would interpret the decision to publish an unclassified analysis of Soviet civil defense programs in terms of US foreign military and negotiating policy rather than of CIA's effort to educate the public, the Congress and executive branch agencies. Soviet political writers would be more impressed by the fact of the publication than by the accuracy of the information. The Soviet press would probably characterize publication of the

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SUBJECT: Unclassified Study of Soviet Civil Defense

paper as a victory for "anti-Soviet" forces and opponents of SALT in the US.

--Although the effect of the publication on SALT itself is harder to foresee, the report would probably have at most a marginally harmful effect on present negotiations. It might cause the Soviets to hesitate more than otherwise about expanding US-USSR negotiations to include civil defense. Soviet leaders would almost certainly believe that the CIA publication represented an effort to stake out a public position on major US concerns in advance of working group discussions on civil defense. This consideration, given the apparent Soviet belief that the USSR leads the US in civil defense, may reinforce any current Soviet hesitation about the value to the USSR of civil defense negotiations.

--On the other hand the Soviets conceivably could be encouraged to enter civil defense negotiations by the belief that the CIA paper (like recent OSD statements about US ASAT development) may presage a major US civil defense effort. This is unlikely, however, because the Soviets would probably conclude that stepping up the US civil defense effort, in view of the US experience with civil defense in the 1960s, would meet political resistance. Soviet

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D R A F T

SUBJECT: Unclassified Study of Soviet Civil Defense

propaganda about the CIA report would seek to contribute to such resistance, and to portray the report as an exaggeration by CIA "cold-warriors."

f. Some of the disadvantages of making the study public might be lessened or eliminated if the study were not released directly to the public media by the DCI. Some other options:

--Provide the unclassified study to a Congressional committee for release by the Congress. An indirect release of a DCI assessment under this procedure would be responsive to Congressional requests and would avoid setting a precedent for the direct release to news media of DCI assessments on Soviet strategic capabilities. The release would not, however, be under the control of Administration officials for whom the IIM on Soviet civil defense was prepared.

--Provide the unclassified study to the Secretary of Defense for release in summary form in the unclassified version of his Annual Defense Department Report. In this case the release would be made by a policymaking official of the Administration, but the findings of the study in summary form would be much more subject to misinterpretation than the complete study. Moreover, the findings might be subjected to a Department of Defense interpretation different than what we intended.

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D R A F T

SUBJECT: Unclassified Study of Soviet Civil Defense

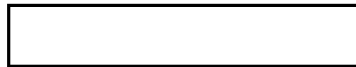
3. Recommendations:

a. We believe that information drawn from the classified IIM on Soviet civil defense or interpretations and comments about its conclusions are likely to find their way into the news media shortly after the document is disseminated. Therefore, we conclude that the advantages of releasing an unclassified paper on the subject outweigh the disadvantages, including possible adverse Soviet reactions. We believe, however, that releasing the paper through a Congressional Committee would be preferable to a direct release by the DCI or to a release of parts of the paper in the Annual Defense Department Report.

b. If release is approved, we propose, in line with past practices, that we advise members of NFIB concerning the DCI's intention and invite their comment.

4. Staff Coordination: This memorandum has been coordinated with the DD/NFAC, DDO, D/OSR, NIO/SP, NIO/USSR, Legislative Counsel, Assistant for Public Affairs, Chief, Congressional Support Staff and the Chairman of the Interagency Working Group on Civil Defense.

Attachments



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TRANSMITTAL SLIP		DATE
TO: LC		
ROOM NO. 7-D-49	BUILDING	
REMARKS: Attach to: NFAC 3546-77 SP - 249/77 27 Dec 77		
FROM: NIO/SP		
ROOM NO.	BUILDING	EXTENSION

FORM NO. 241
1 FEB 55REPLACES FORM 36-8
WHICH MAY BE USED.

(47)

Date: 1 DEC 1977

25X1

TO:

[Redacted]

FROM:

E/A DCI

SUBJECT:

REMARKS:

*Wanted to be sure
you were cut in
on this exercise.*

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N

30 November 1977

MEMORANDUM FOR: Director of Central Intelligence

25X1 FROM :

[Redacted]

SUBJECT : Unclassified Civil Defense Monograph

1. I recommend an unclassified version be published. The "Summary and Conclusions" and "Key Findings" (attached) with classified material deleted (now highlighted in yellow) contain enough factual information to provide a modest, but useful monograph. Some imaginative graphics could further harden what is left: Soviet-U.S. comparisons; more descriptive exposition of the unclassified statistics, etc.

25X1 2. The attached version prepared by [Redacted] is not bad. Some minor smoothing up should put it in final form. If you want to go ahead, I could either ask [Redacted] to do one more go on it, working with the Graphics people, (the preferable route I think as he has already done the hard part of condensation) or I can do a version myself.

Very respectfully,

[Redacted]

Attachment

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Protection of the Population

18. The Soviet plans call for in-place shelters and the evacuation of population from urban target areas. Assessments of the effectiveness of the Soviet evacuation program are highly dependent on the scenario chosen, but tentative evaluations of this program are possible. We estimate that the Soviets have probably constructed more than 15,000 shelters nationwide that can protect 10 million to 20 million people--roughly 10 to 20 percent of the total population in cities of more than 100,000 people. We are confident that more extensive analysis would result in an upward, not downward, adjustment of this figure, but we are unable to say by how much.

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Next 1 Page(s) In Document Exempt

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Overall Effectiveness

24. We have calculated the effects of civil defense on the levels of damage and casualties the Soviets might sustain from a nuclear exchange. We have deliberately chosen to analyze important and sensitive variables--economic damage and casualties--that can be evaluated quantitatively, and have made arbitrary assumptions to deal with the inevitable uncertainties regarding preparations for and conduct of an actual nuclear exchange. This type of analysis involved trading on the realism of the war scenario adopted to gain detail in calculating the consequences--the more detailed our analysis for purposes of calculations, the less likely the calculations would apply to another scenario.

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BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. A substantial body of open source literature is available on Soviet civil defense and related war survival subjects. This bibliography presents a selection from open sources based on the following criteria:

- a. Published in the USSR during the ten-year period, 1968 - 1977.
- b. Intrinsic value of each document's contents.
- c. Coverage of representative subjects within the broad field of civil defense.

2. Not all of the documents included in this bibliography have been translated into English. Significant sources in the Russian language are included so that those readers interested in conducting in-depth research of Soviet disaster preparedness have an appropriate, initial, open source of data.

3. These selected books are arranged in chronological order by date of publication, beginning with the oldest:

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